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willing to trust to take the lead in determining the policy to be pursued during the crisis.

But this is not all. The respect which this country has shown the Chinese nationality, in regard to both its territory and its government, has naturally led China to feel that the United States is the only friend she has among the powers. Every proposal, therefore, which she has made looking towards a settlement of the trouble has naturally been made to our government. President McKinley was first asked to mediate. When he published the conditions on which mediation would be undertaken, Chinese officials knew and believed that this was straightforward, honest diplomacy, and not a mere trick, the end of which was to be a slice of territory. Later he was asked to name a commissioner to negotiate for the ending of the conflict, and Mr. Conger was proposed by Li Hung Chang as a satisfactory agent. The caution shown in all these matters by the Administration has not been interpreted in China as having any sinister purposes behind it, but as showing only that the United States desires a just and permanent settlement, promising security alike to China and the rest of the world.

The commanding position given by the friendship and trust thus shown by both the European powers and by China has so far been used by our government with marked wisdom and tact. If Mr. Hay's policy can be successfully carried through and all the European powers brought to declare candidly in favor of the integrity of China and to give up honestly all purpose of further aggression, the effect on the temper of China will be very great. The "Yellow Peril" will no longer be perilous. Hatred of foreigners will be greatly diminished. The way will soon open for the return of the missionaries. The danger of repetition of the present uprising will be allayed, and anxiety lest war break out between the powers over the partition of China or commercial supremacy in the East will be henceforth groundless.

This would be a diplomatic attainment of the first order, not simply for the intellectual ability displayed, but much more for the high moral principle exhibited. There has been in the past, in diplomatic proceedings, intellectual shrewdness and finessing *ad nauseam*, but often not much moral sense. We sincerely hope our government will adhere faithfully to its declared purposes, and not allow itself to be swept into the current of unrighteous policy which has brought on the present upheaval. It will be vastly better, more honorable and more profitable for the nation to have made the magnanimous effort and fail than to get half of China in an unscrupulous scramble for material aggrandizement. We believe that the heart of the nation is in profound sympathy with the "Hay Doctrine," and if this policy is carried out in a kindly, patient spirit it will not cost the land any blood.

The Assassination of King Humbert.

Will the governments and heads of nations, and those who put them and sustain them in power, never learn the plainest lessons of the hour, written in the sharpest characters on the very sky? The assassination of King Humbert of Italy recalls the long series of anarchistic horrors which the last two decades have furnished. It again raises also the questions, What progress has been made in the eradication of anarchy, and by what means may it be successfully dealt with?

That no progress has been made in its suppression is perfectly evident. It is stronger and more widely spread at the present moment than ever before. Even since the death of King Humbert two attempts upon the lives of sovereigns have taken place. Hanging, shooting and electrocuting individual members of the anarchist associations who have committed deeds of violence have not had the least perceptible deterrent effect upon others. On the contrary, they seem to have exactly the opposite influence. Certainly, the number of anarchists who are ready singly or by plot to take the lives of those in authority was never greater than now.

The evil cannot be suppressed by force. It must be *cured*; and to be cured its causes must be removed. So long as these remain, and are each year either multiplied or intensified, the anarchistic organism — for it is an organism — will continue to flourish and do its deadly work.

It is not an accident that Italy furnishes more of the murderous class of anarchists than any other country, nor that Russia comes next in the unenviable list. Of all the countries of Europe, Italy, relatively to her capacity to sustain her population, is the most heavily burdened with taxes to support great armaments and to meet expenses incurred in disastrous colonial undertakings. In certain districts of the peninsula and of Sicily, poverty has become hopelessly abject. But the government must still have its war penny, though the people die for lack of bread. The folly of trying to maintain ancient military prestige, and the shadowy glory of clinging to the Triple Alliance and keeping up a show of being a first-class war-power, proceeds in utter oblivion of the distress and frowning discontent thereby created among the masses of the people. Russia spends annually \$275,000,000 on her army and navy, though thirty per cent. of her children die in infancy, the chief cause being lack of nourishment. One cannot think of the Russian peasantry without mental pictures of black bread, miserable hovels and vile clothing.

Out of these conditions come the anarchists. The germs of the evil, whether created by the conditions or found in the wicked and lawless intent of individuals, would not grow and develop to any alarming extent but for the soil which forces them into life.

Anarchism is not individualistic lawlessness, except in rare cases. It is a social theory of the wrongfulness of all government, which has in the main grown out of bad and oppressive government acting upon minds possessed of some sense of individual rights and equality. Hence its claim of virtue, its courage and its disregard of death.

If governments had been uniformly good, serving the people instead of fleecing and devouring them, anarchism would never have existed, as it has not yet existed to any serious extent in free and unmilitarized countries. It originated and has developed in those countries where governmental burdens in recent years have grown heaviest and most vexatious. Government to the anarchists, who are sharers in the intelligence of the age, means on the one hand ease, luxury, show, unfeeling demands upon the people; on the other subjection, hunger, rags, perpetual privation and suffering, and slow death. It is the protest of ordinarily, though by no means always, narrow and unmoralized thinking and feeling against the enormous and distressing inequalities of condition found in the militaristic countries. In this respect it closely resembles the larger socialistic protest against private capitalism. Where it draws to itself lawless elements and grows passionate and violent, it strikes at the crowned heads and others in high positions, with little discrimination as to their character, because they are the visible embodiment of the principles and systems whose prevalence brings the ruinous evils against which they feel themselves impelled to fight.

We have no sympathy with anarchism, either in its theory of the wrongfulness of all government or in its violent and destructive acts. Its method is radically wrong. Its assassination of crowned heads and high dignitaries does nothing to remove the evils of which it justly complains. It makes the evil conditions worse—worse for the anarchists themselves and for everybody else. Violence produces and sustains violence. Satan never casts out Satan. But we have less than no sympathy with the selfish and ambitious governmental systems and methods which create huge armaments, crush and degrade peoples, and thus furnish the soil out of which anarchism grows. These are the evils against which all good men must protest and work until they are finally condemned and removed by the overwhelming power of a righteous and humane public opinion. While these remain, arresting and killing individual anarchists is like treating the separate eruptions on the skin while the disease is raging everywhere in the blood.

Anarchism will remain a permanent phenomenon in our civilization while militarism with its devouring and degrading burdens remains. It will spread with the expansion of the latter. Our own country,

if present tendencies continue, will feel its force more severely than in the past. It will grow bolder and more violent. It has already learned the lesson of steel, gunpowder and dynamite, taught by the governments. Each new exhibition of its madness will be greater than the last. Its victims will increase. The dread of its secret cunning craftiness will hang darkly over society. Uneasy will lie every head that wears a crown.

This is no pleasing picture of the coming days; but it is one which must be faced. All those who uphold and promote the growing militarism of the day are makers and promoters of anarchism. They must be prepared to reap, or see reaped, the fruit of their evil sowing. The only way of escape is to change the sowing.

Editorial Notes.

**Ratification of
Hague Convention.** The Hague Convention establishing the permanent international court of arbitration has now been ratified by the United States, Great Britain, Russia, France, Italy, Austro-Hungary, Spain, Mexico, Holland and Roumania, ten powers in all. Article 28 of the Convention provides that when nine powers have ratified it, the Council of Administration, to consist of the Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Foreign Ministers accredited to The Hague, shall be organized as soon as possible. The first meeting of the Council will be held, it is understood, this month, and the Bureau of the Court will then be established by the appointment of a general secretary and other officials. The Emperor of Russia has already named four persons to be members of the Court. They are Mr. de Martens, of the University of St. Petersburg, so well known for his writings on international law and for his services on tribunals of arbitration; Mr. Pobedonostzev, the procurator of the Holy Synod, one of the ablest and best known lawyers in Russia; Mr. de Mouraviev, the present Minister of Justice, brother of the late Foreign Minister; and Mr. de Frisch, president of the Legislative Department of the Council of the Empire. The Court is now assured. The ratifications of the other powers may be expected shortly, and the members of the Court for the other nations will doubtless all be appointed before the close of the year.

Since the foregoing note was written President McKinley has asked ex-Presidents Harrison and Cleveland to serve as members of the court for the United States. Every citizen of the country will be pleased if they accept. Their large experience in international affairs and their high ability will make them ideal members of the Court. Their presence in this great international judiciary would give the United States an unsurpassed influence in its work and development; we mean, along right lines of judicial ability, fairness and independence. We hope nothing whatever will prevent either of them from accepting.